

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES

made in connection with the Special Project "Vienna"

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS:

Authors Fees	\$	1,098.24	
Preparation's costs (Travels)		256.87	
Printing		2,975.30	
Expedition		157.88	
Total Cost of Books and Pamphlets	\$		4,488.29

PERSONAL EXPENSES:

Travel Expenses:

#	1	\$	58.80
	2		19.60
	3		19.60
	4		19.60
	5		19.60
	6		19.60
	7		19.60
	8		19.60
	9		43.00
	10		140.38
	11		140.38
	13		579.60
	14		579.60
	15		654.79

Total Travel Expenses

\$ 2,333.75

Rooms & Meals

#	1	\$	110.40
	2		48.00
	3		48.00
	4		24.00
	5		28.80
	6		14.40
	7		14.40
	8		67.20
	9		57.60
	10		57.60
	11		43.20
	12		90.00
	13		38.40
	14		20.00
	15		335.00

Total Rooms & Meals

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3828
VAZ/ WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

Total Personal Expenses

997.00

3,330.75

OPERATIONAL EXPENSES:

Books for Exhibition	\$	304.25
Postage		71.04
Oper. Expenses before the Festival		379.00
" " during the Festival		1,116.24
Total Operational Expenses		1,870.53

TOTAL EXPENSES

\$ 9,689.57

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES

made in connection with the Special Project "Vienna"-1959 - on Project
" East of Vienna"

Travel Expenses:

# 1	\$ 115.00	
2	<u>55.00</u>	
total travel		\$ 170.00

Rooms and Meals:

# 1	\$ 70.00	
2	<u>187.00</u>	
Total Living Expenses		257.00

Operational Expenses

# 1	\$ 30.00	
2	50.00	
15	<u>59.50</u>	
Total Operational Expenses		139.50

Return of lost Salaries:

# 1	\$ 200.00	
2	<u>540.00</u>	
Total		<u>740.00</u>

Total Expenses on Project "East of Vienna" \$ 1,306.50

Total Expenses on Project "Vienna-1959" 9,689.57

TOTAL EXPENSES

\$ 10,996.07

LIST of BOOKS and PAMPHLETS

Printed for Special Project " Vienna - 1959 "

Name of Book	Printed Copies
Petrov - in ukr.	2000
" " "B"	500
Mythn & Reality	2000
Ukraine	4000
Myth & Reality in ukr.	3000
" " " rus.	3000
/Ghrushchev	3000
Kononenko	2000
Folders "oj Pola"	5000
" " "B"	1000
Addresses	12000
Exposition	1000
To our Readers	500
Booklet "Prohrama"	3000
Cartoons "Idite"	10000
Himn-ukr.	3000
-rus.	3000
-rys. 2 colors	2000
"Sanky"	3000
Leaflets in Vienna	10000

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LITERATURE DISTRIBUTION

I DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE AT VIENNA YOUTH FESTIVAL

1. Every team member was equipped with Western literature and was instructed to give it to his Soviet counterpart at the end of a discussion or at any time he considers appropriate. Experience showed that Soviet Ukrainians, in spite of being eager to get the literature, were careful not to take it in the presence of other countrymen. Only a comparatively small amount of literature was handed from hand to hand. (Not more than 30 pieces: i.e., Khrushchev's talk at the 20th Congress, Petrov's description of the liquidation of Ukrainian writers in the 1930's, Our Program, and MYTH AND REALITY.) In a few cases, like for instance in the case of a follow-up conversation which I had with STECHEK and others, he was in a position to discuss with them the topic of our pamphlets.

2. The second method of distribution was by leaving literature in places where Soviet Ukrainians were living. Approximately 500 pieces of literature and post cards and cartoons were left on the banks, in the yard and other places surrounding the Potsleindorf. It is highly probable that at least a part of this literature was taken by Soviet Ukrainians. This procedure was soon discovered by Soviet supervisors and it happened that on 28 August a show of "open destruction" of this material was staged by the supervisors. They ordered the members of their groups to tear up a dozen of our booklets. Present at this time, A commented to them that an easier way would be to burn it but it would bring to mind Nazi practices. Some 1,000 pieces of our literature, especially booklets, were available in the 16 Austrian information kiosks placed throughout the city. These kiosks were visited by Soviets and especially by delegates from Satellite countries. Some 800 pieces of literature and cartoons were placed on shelves in the Soviet exhibition pavilion at Karlsplatz. There were put there by special action in which six members of our team participated during one lunch period. They inserted our literature into the Soviet books and in this way it is assumed our literature got into the hands of Soviet visitors who came that afternoon to visit the exhibition and who took many of the exhibited booklets.

3. Still another way of distribution was to leave two or three booklets on benches in parks which were visited by Soviet groups, like for instance the Schoenbrunn Park. Some 3,000 cards with cartoons and with a parody on the Soviet life were distributed by the Hungarians and Austrian youth organizations. Leaflets informing about our exhibition in the Lechner Book Store were distributed by Austrians paid to do this. In two reported cases they were physically molested by the East German Communists who after they took leaflets and read their contents, attacked the distributors. As a matter of fact, this information leaflet was approved and admitted for distribution by the Vienna Townhouse. Approximately 400 booklets and 1,000 cartoons were distributed in Messengleunde among delegates of the Festival.

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4. Mailing. Eight hundred letters containing our booklets, bulletins and cartoons were mailed to addressees in the Soviet Ukraine and 60 to addressees in Poland. Because of heavy mailing to the USSR from the Soviet Festival participants, it was highly probable that this mail would reach its destination. In a few cases in which we were able to check the reaction of Soviet readers of our pamphlets, we were led to believe that this material was found of interest and that it shall be used in the future, especially such pamphlets as MYTH AND REALITY, Petrov's book, Our Program, and Khrushchev's Secret Address to the 20th Party Congress.

II INFORMATION BULLETIN

The INFORMATION BULLETIN (Ukrainian language) presents factual world news and news of Ukrainian emigre activities and achievements in the West and analyses the effects of Soviet policies on the economic, social, cultural and political life of the Ukrainian people. Between 4,500 and 6,000 copies of the BULLETIN are mailed each month into the Soviet Ukraine from approximately ten different countries in the free world. Contacts in Poland receive approximately 20 copies of the BULLETIN monthly for mailing to personal acquaintances in the Ukrainian SSR and for distribution to Soviet tourists in Poland. The list of addressees has been selected from overt Soviet internal and external publications and from the publication of The Committee for Return to the Homeland.

Responses from the Soviet Union to the BULLETIN have been received in the form of letters, either favorable in tone or presenting attacks on the BULLETIN and individuals involved. Ukrainians in Poland have acknowledged receipt of the BULLETIN and have requested future issues, stating that they were being forwarded to individuals in the Ukrainian SSR who had expressed a desire for its receipt.

The BULLETIN was attached (in a comic strip) in a Ukrainian-language newspaper published in Poland.

A 17 page typewritten letter dated May 1959 was received in a Chicago letter drop from Stanislaw, USSR in which the writer attacks the INFORMATION BULLETIN and the Ukrainian emigration in great detail.

III PROLOGUE

Although PROLOGUE (English-language quarterly magazine of approximately 80 pages) is published mainly as a cover instrument and has as its aim to seek moral and political support for the enslaved nations of the USSR in their struggle against the Communist regime, about thirty copies of each issue of the magazine are mailed to educational institutions, and libraries in the USSR. Its receipt in the Soviet Union was acknowledged through a 4 1/2 page article in the UKRAINSKIY ISTORICHNIY ZHURNAL in which the magazine, and in particular three of the contributing authors, were attacked.

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IV SUCHASHA UKRAINA, LITERATURNHA HAZETA AND UKRAINSKY SAHISTITNIK

Copies of all three Subject publications, although published specifically for the Ukrainian emigration in the West, are mailed (about 500 copies bi-monthly) to the Ukrainian SSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In a hand-carried letter from the Ukrainian SSR to Vienna in July 1959 the writer expresses her thanks for a copy of the LITERATURNHA HAZETA received by her and requests that a copy of an article appearing in an issue of the newspaper be sent to her via the individual who carried her letter to Vienna.

In a conversation one of the ABCASSONARY contacts had at the Vienna Youth Festival with M. M. DOBROV, First Secretary of the Kiev Obkom. Komzamel (LKSM), DOBROV expressed his familiarity with both the UKRAINSKY SAHISTITNIK and SUCHASHA UKRAINA by criticizing the publications for presenting "the dim side of life in the Soviet Ukraine". He refused to accept copies of two other ABCASSONARY publications stating that he had already seen them.

V BOOKS

An average of 10-12 books monthly have been mailed to Ukrainians in Poland and to Polish schools and libraries. Receipt of almost every volume has been acknowledged in writing and requests have been made for additional books. The books mailed to Ukrainians in Poland have been carried to the Ukrainian SSR by tourists.

*PAWLYCHKO (who attended the Vienna Youth Festival) asked for and was presented with 11 books (published in the West) on German literature.

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1 October 59*

OPERATION "VIENNA FESTIVAL" 1959

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This is a report on
Vienna Youth Festival

*Orig sent to
10/10/59*

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OPERATION VIENNA FESTIVAL, 1952

I - GENERAL INFORMATION

Preparations by us for the Vienna Festival began several months in advance and were aimed at contacting Ukrainians from Soviet Ukraine, exchanging information with them, arranging for future exchange of communications and arousing in them a willingness for closer cooperation. A further aim was to counteract the Soviet propaganda staged in Vienna during the Festival.

An operational team, with specifically prepared literature and an exhibition of Ukrainian books printed in the West were put in action, in order to achieve the above-stated tasks.

Operational Team. Our operational team during the Vienna Festival consisted of 15 men and women including myself. (See Attachment A for the list of names.) In addition to this group directly under my supervision, I maintained contacts and received help (information, storage of books, distribution of books, transportation, etc.) from approximately six other Ukrainians. I also remained in contact with and occasionally received help from other operating teams such as Pax Romania (via Mr. Kirsbaum), Hungarian groups, Austrian youth organizations.

Before operations actually were started all members of my team were briefed by me about our task and techniques of approach. During the Festival I held personal meetings with individual members of the team in order to give further detailed instructions and receive their reports. Also, I maintained steady contact with Barry.

All team members had contact with Soviet Ukrainians present in Vienna, held many talks and lengthy conversations with them, exchanged small gifts, held social gatherings in many cases, and gave the Soviet Ukrainians literature which was discussed after it was read by the Soviets. Photographs were taken, addresses exchanged and some of our team members were invited by Soviet Ukrainians to visit them while on trips to the Ukraine. In a few cases, Soviet Ukrainians promised to write letters to their new acquaintances in the West.

In addition to these general contacts on a common level, so to say, there took place talks with a higher echelon of Soviet Ukrainians who were in Vienna. In one case there was a continuation of a previous contact made earlier this year in Paris--a Ukrainian language journal with autographs was transmitted from Kiev. (See section on contacts.) All these contacts, as will be shown in the future sections, supported material about the situation inside the Ukraine and the USSR. They also gave a picture of Soviet Ukrainian interest in activities of the Ukrainian emigration. Based on the results of

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these conversations, we can reach some important conclusions which should be taken into consideration for future planning of our operations and our policy toward the Ukrainian SSR.

Literature. Five pamphlets in the Ukrainian, Russian and English languages were prepared by our group for the Festival and were distributed in Vienna. Also prepared and distributed were six different leaflets and postal cards with cartoons. Samples of this literature are attached as Attachment B. There were distributed to Iron Curtain personnel in Vienna approximately 6,000 pieces of our literature, 300 pieces were mailed to addresses in the Soviet Ukraine, and 60 pieces were mailed to Poland.

Book Exhibition. During the Festival there was an exhibition in an Austrian bookshop (the Lachner Buchhandlung am Grabhorn) Ukrainian books, photographic records, and works of art. This exhibition had a permanent service consisting of three persons. It was seen by many Soviet Ukrainians and some of them visited the exhibition inside. There were many visitors from Poland who took books and pamphlets. At the end of the Festival a demonstration organized and led by the Soviet Ukrainian ~~Volodymyr~~ Volodymyr Vasylovych KILIX took place in the bookstore. During this demonstration KILIX among others launched a verbal attack on me. A detailed description of the attack is given in the section about the bookstore.

II - UKRAINIANS FROM THE USSR

Approximately 200 Ukrainians from the USSR participated in the Vienna Festival. Next to the Russians, the Ukrainian group, composed of three elements, was the strongest national group from the Soviet Union.

1. The chosen group of Soviet Ukrainians: activists, members of Central Committee of the Komsomol, chief editors, journalists, teachers and artists. They were well prepared and instructed to seek contacts and engage in conversations with Ukrainian emigres. This first group could be described as representative of the Soviet Ukrainian "new class." It was headed, as far as could be judged, by ~~Volodymyr~~ Volodymyr Pavlovych SHUMCHENKO (he claimed to be a member of the Soviet Ukrainian Foreign Ministry in Kiev, Visa Section.) and Ivan Danylovych SHUMCHAK, Chief Editor of "Red Ukrainian" and member of the Central Committee of Komsomol. Their main purpose in contacts with emigres was to get a personal view of their counterparts and to make propaganda that the Ukrainian SSR is really an independent state, that in recent years big changes towards full Ukrainization in the Soviet Ukraine have taken place, that there is no danger of Russification, that there is big progress in all fields of Ukrainian culture and economic life, and that, therefore, the political struggle of Ukrainian emigres is out of date. This group enjoyed in Vienna a comparatively good life. They were well-tailored suits and had more money than the average Soviet Festival participant. Some of them, like for instance SHUMCHENKO, were guests of the Soviet Embassy in Vienna. (During one conversation with our man, he mentioned that he must go for dinner to the Soviet Embassy.)

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2. The second and most numerical group consisted of minor activists of the Komsomol, of persons distinguished for accomplishments in production and public life, students and industrial workers. Almost without exception they were housewife, no holdover members. Only very few claimed to be workers of former KES stations. They were poorly dressed, and had a very limited amount of spending money. (According to a conversation with one of our men, they received only 248 shillings for the Festival.) Members of this group were eager to receive monetary gifts and to be entertained. There were many contacts with individuals of this category, some of which continued for a couple of days. Some members of this second group showed interest in wanting to be informed, in getting information about the Ukrainian emigration, about living conditions in the West. Some of them were well-informed about the political life of the Ukrainian emigres, especially in the USA and Canada. Almost without exception all of them revealed their Ukrainian patriotism, being at the same time afraid of touching upon such topics as Moscow ruling the Ukraine and the Russification policy. It was obvious that they considered this topic as a hot iron.

3. Numerically very small, the third group consisted of professional artists sent to Vienna to perform. Very well situated financially and, in most cases, being guests of the Soviet Embassy in Vienna, they showed no particular interest in contacts and conversations. Some of the artists were brought to Vienna not for performances but as Festival participants. These individuals showed good knowledge of the situation in the Ukrainian emigration, were eager to discuss the political situation and submitted interesting information as to the situation in the Ukraine.

General Characteristics. The following conclusions could be made about the Soviet Ukrainian Festival participants. With the one exception of SHCHURKO, who could speak and move freely and have contacts without witnesses, all others, including even the Komsomol member SHCHURKO, were not fully trusted by the Soviet Russians, were forbidden to move about unaccompanied and to speak alone with emigres. (This statement was made to one of our men by the Soviet Ukrainian writer PAVLYCHKO.) These individuals were under permanent control and obviously were obliged to report their conversations with Ukrainian emigres.

Under a superficial Soviet loyalty and oral declaration of contentment with life in the Soviet Ukraine, equality between Russians and Ukrainians, the Soviet Ukrainians are not free of the possibilities of persecution for their Ukrainian patriotism (my discussion with SHCHURKO).

Without exception all Soviet Ukrainians, regardless of the place from which they came (East or West Ukraine), spoke a very good Ukrainian language as soon as they were free of the presence of their Soviet supervisors.

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III - CONTACTS

1. In this section I am going to give a summarized story of contacts made by our team members with Soviet Ukrainians. The list of contacted Soviet Ukrainians and data obtained will be submitted separately. A more detailed report on all conventions will be made later, after all team members have sent in their reports. A special report will be made on the trip to Poland and the Ukraine made by two members of our team after the close of the Festival.
2. First contacts were made during the opening of the Festival in Vienna Stadium on July 26. They were limited to generalities and concentrated on pointing among the Soviet group the Ukrainian participants. It was determined at this time that the main group of Ukrainian Festival participants were living in Postaleinsdorf, a Vienna suburb; in former "Studentheim" in Postelengasse; and in so-called Sanatorium-am-Sternwarte (Soviet property). The following day the first visits by our members to the Postaleinsdorf took place, discussions were initiated and acquaintances made.
3. In most cases contact by our team members with Soviet Ukrainians was made comparatively easy. A team member would ask a group of Soviets if there were among them Soviet Ukrainians and immediately he would be surrounded by a small group of Soviet Ukrainians. After general questions like, "Where are you from?"; "Who are you?"; etc., a conversation would begin and sometimes the meetings and discussion continued for several days. In the first stages our men and women had to answer a flood of questions on: living conditions in the West, is it possible to obtain scholarships and to whom are they available, why are there so many political parties, and so on.
4. As to living conditions in the West, there was observed a lack of basic information by the Soviet Ukrainians about the most common institutions of the Western society like for instance, trade unions and their role in the protection of workers. Also, they didn't understand the phenomenon of freedom the Western citizen enjoys. For instance, they criticized the many party systems by pointing out that political parties are concerned primarily with interests of a small group and not working for the benefit of society as a whole. They displayed a Western advertisement and stated that "the nude woman in shop windows are demoralizing the youth." On the other hand, they praised the good Austrian service in restaurants and shops, admitting freely that at home the waiters or salesmen are not so polite and not interested in good service to the customer. Asked why, they answered, "Because he is a State employee who doesn't care about profit." They also wondered about high prices of books which in their opinion could be obtained only by a rich person. The overwhelming majority of them identify the Western world with a Capitalistic regime which they considered reactionary. They were almost completely ignorant about modern welfare and state institutions of Western societies and were eager to be informed about them. Our team members gave basic information on the above topics to almost all the Soviet Ukrainians with whom they had contact.

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5. A large part of all conversations with Soviet Ukrainians was devoted to the situation in the Ukraine and to answering questions about the Ukrainian emigration and our activities. As a rule, after a short general conversation our team members tried to turn the discussion to political subjects and this was almost without exception willingly accepted by the Soviet Ukrainians. They were interested in the living conditions and political activities of the Ukrainian emigres, they asked whether it is true that the Ukrainian emigres are under the protection of the United Nations, and they inquired about some prominent Ukrainian emigre personalities. Compared with last year's experiences in Brussels and previous contacts with Soviet Ukrainians, it was observed that the Soviet Ukrainians were better informed about the Ukrainian emigration.

6. Topics Most Often Discussed. As all Soviet Ukrainians boasted about the sovereign status of the Ukrainian SSR, the main topic brought up for discussion by our team members was the so-called sovereign status, the position of the Ukraine in the United Nations, and the lack of the basic elements of sovereignty, as for instance the absence of diplomatic representation of the Ukraine abroad. In most cases the Soviet Ukrainians at first automatically defended their statements regarding sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR. They tried to explain the lack of diplomatic representation by very unsound arguments. There were cases where confronted by our arguments about the lack of foreign relations of the Ukrainian SSR they kept silent, were unwilling to go farther in this subject, or defended the present status by poor argumentation.

7. Russification of the Ukraine. This topic was the most discussed problem with all Soviet Ukrainians. With one exception (KOTSECHO) all Soviet Ukrainians at first categorically denied the Russification policy, claiming full equality between Russians and Ukrainians and pointing out tremendous development of the Ukrainian cultural and scientific life in the last five years. They cited names of new book editions, spoke about the growth of publication and circulation of Ukrainian newspapers. Confronted with contrary facts they either pretended not to be aware of them or remained silent. The above-mentioned KOTSECHO was asked about and admitted that service in the Soviet Army is one of many means of Russification. He said, "A boy who can speak only Ukrainian leaves his town or village and after years of military service where the only accepted language is Russian, he returns home with a confused language, using many Russian words." "But," KOTSECHO continued, "this doesn't mean that such a boy ceases to be a Ukrainian even if he speaks Russian." His opinion was supported by other Soviet Ukrainians.

One subject that was discussed with many Soviet Ukrainians was the new school law. This school law leaves to the parents in the final decision as to which school the child shall be sent, to a Russian or a Ukrainian school. All interviewed Soviet Ukrainians denied categorically that this law opens a new door for further Russification of the Ukrainian school system. A man from Rivne, Soviet Ukraine, unidentified by name, explained to K that this law should be considered as a progress toward Ukrainization of the school system.

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By this he meant that this law gives to the parents the legal basis to demand a Ukrainian school. The same man gave as proof about the school situation in the Ukraine the following data about schools in the Rivne Oblast--231 Ukrainian schools and only 14 Russian. The school law topic also was discussed with another Ukrainian, SHECHUK, who gave exactly the same explanation. For him this new law is nothing else but legalizing the rights of parents to have the school they want. He also mentioned that it is known to him that the Ukrainian emigre parties and newspapers protested very strongly against this law and he considered that they were misinformed. Another topic was the lack of Ukrainian schools in the RSFSR. Our team members complained about the fact that millions of Ukrainians in the RSFSR and elsewhere in the Soviet Union behind the borders of Ukrainian SSR do not have possibilities to send their children to Ukrainian schools while at the same time the Russians in the Ukraine have plenty of Russian schools. Some of the Soviet Ukrainians pretended not to know about this, while others, like for instance BOHUSUK, in a conversation with K, admitted the present situation is not just and in his opinion the Ukrainians in the RSFSR should really demand establishment of their own schools.

8. While discussing the situation of the Ukrainians behind the borders of Ukrainian SSR (that means in RSFSR, in Siberia, and in Kazakhstan), the Ukrainian SHECHUK in conversation with K stated that Ukrainians in Siberia and Kazakhstan are much more patriotic than the countrymen in the Ukraine. "The Ukrainians in the Ukraine take the fact that they are Ukrainians for granted, whereas the Ukrainians in Siberia and elsewhere in the Soviet Union behind the Ukrainian borders are surrounded by other nationalities and are more conscious, proud and even active than our brothers at home."

9. The Ukrainian Emigration. As already mentioned, the Soviet Ukrainians in Vienna seemed much better informed about the Ukrainian emigration than they were in previous years. Sometimes they had an exaggerated impression about the numerical strength of the Ukrainian emigration. For instance, A was asked by one engineer from Dnubas, "Is it true there are 300,000 Ukrainians in England?" The next almost standard question put to our men and women by the Soviet Ukrainians was this, "Why do they have so many political groups and quarrels among themselves?" After A identified himself with the Program of our group (UEVR) the Soviet engineer told him that he knows about Messrs. LEBID and KONONENKO and pretended to be very well informed about the OUN. In the discussion carried on by S with a Ukrainian from Ushored known only by his first name Daytro, he asked S about the whereabouts of Mr. WAREUS whom Daytro described as a writer. Our team members also were asked whether BANDERA and SHECHKO were present in Vienna. It was news to one of the Soviet Ukrainians when K told him that BANDERA and SHECHKO were jailed in a German concentration camp during the war. Programs and activities of the Ukrainian emigration was the subject of lengthy discussions with many Soviet Ukrainians.

10. Contacts on "High Level".

A. On July 30 a group of five Soviet Ukrainian men and women came

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into the bookstore in which our exhibition was located and after taking a quick look at the exhibited books and pamphlets asked S whether she can help them find ~~out~~ a Ukrainian journalist or writer with whom they could speak. S explained that the chief editor of a known Ukrainian newspaper would soon be there. The group left the bookstore and promised to come back in a few minutes. In the meantime, W came to the bookstore and soon after the same group of Soviet Ukrainians reappeared. The spokesman of the group who presented himself as SHENCHENKO, member of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, expressed a desire for a conversation with W. The other members of the group were Ivan Danylovych SEMENEC, approximately 35, chief editor of NOLOD UKRAINY; Volodymyr Vasylovych KULYK, 29-30, a teacher from a Lviv high school and principal of the 9th grade; BESHCHYK from Poltava, staff member of the newspaper Pravda in Stanislav; Valentyn Leonidovych AZHRODIY, staff member of the newspaper Vidkulturni i Sport; known writer and pamphleteer against Ukrainian nationalism and the emigration--Dmytro FANLYCHKO from Lviv. After a conversation in the bookstore Mr. SHENCHENKO made the proposition that W meet with him again. They agreed to meet July 31, 10 a.m., in Cafe Bauernfeld. Informed by W about the visit and planned meeting, I could not attend the first meeting because of other important obligations and meetings with Harry and his friend Peter.

B. On July 31, at the agreed time and place, SHENCHENKO (with the above-mentioned colleagues but without the two women who were present at the bookstore) met W in the Cafe Bauernfeld and later they moved to another restaurant for lunch. A detailed report on this 4-hour conversation will be submitted later. The following information about this meeting can be given now. While FANLYCHKO and KULYK took a very aggressive position attacking W with phrases (Ukrainian people want you to go away, they don't want you, the UPA and OUN are enemies of our nation and so forth), SHENCHENKO took a more calm position. They discussed in general the position of the Ukrainian SSR. SHENCHENKO tried to explain such questions asked ~~out~~ by W--as why doesn't the Ukrainian SSR have foreign representation? Why is the Russification policy continuing? etc. SHENCHENKO said that Ukrainian Consulates abroad will be opened in the future and right now there are in countries with large numbers of Ukrainian emigres special Ukrainian members of the Soviet Embassy to deal with these groups. The Soviet Ukrainians brought along two bottles of vodka and Soviet canned food and had lunch with W. At the end of this gathering they expressed a desire to continue this discussion and made an appointment for 4 p.m. the following day at the same place.

C. This time I took part in the discussion which, at my suggestion took place not at the restaurant proposed by the Soviets but in the Cafe Bauernfeld. I had informed Harry about the meeting in advance. Shortly after 4 p.m. SEMENEC, KULYK and AZHRODIY were brought by W from the place where they met the previous day. W gave SEMENEC one example of LITERATURNI HAZETA which SEMENEC pretended to be seeing for the first time. Then I started the conversation saying that this was an abnormal situation that even chief editors of the Soviet Ukrainian press are ignorant of some of the more important emigre

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newspapers. While SEMENEC gave a diplomatic reply KULEK stated that the Ukrainian people are not interested in emigre production. Further he stated, "We know there are two kinds of emigration--the old one who left the country for economic reasons and the second, so-called new one, who was thrown out by the people." At this point I interrupted KULEK asking him not to simplify the situation and protested against the statement that the new emigration was thrown out by the people. As the words exchanged in this moment sharpened, SEMENEC took over the conversation and made the proposition that we shall continue our discussion without attacking each other. I explained that conversation is impossible if they consider us as a group of people thrown out by the nation and, therefore, KULEK must be more careful in the choice of his words. Then I made the following introductory statement. "Taking into account the situation in which our counterparts are living under the Soviet Regime, we are realistic enough to know that at the present time they must live under the conditions present at home. We are not going to ask them to make a revolution. Nevertheless, the Ukrainians should defend Ukrainian interests and should be interested in the welfare of their nation. Having this in mind, we in the emigration are studying closely the conditions in the Ukraine and are trying to help our nation."

D. SEMENEC smiled and stated that on this basis we can continue our discussion because he also feels obliged toward his nation and is also interested in the Ukrainian cause. I then asked them to explain to me the following situation. Why doesn't the Ukraine have foreign diplomatic representation if it is true that the Ukraine is a sovereign state? Also I asked him to explain the Russification policy in the Ukraine. On the first question about foreign representation SEMENEC didn't give a satisfactory answer. Where Russification was concerned, he categorically denied any such trend of the Soviet policy claiming big cultural and scientific progress of the Ukraine. Further he stated that the Ukrainian nation must be very obliged to their Russian neighbor for the historical fact of uniting all parts of the Ukraine into one state.

E. Then he launched an attack directed against us. "At the time the Russian nation is helping us to unite all of the Ukraine into one state the Western world is still thinking about and preparing new partitions of the Ukraine. The Poles are eager to get the Western Ukraine, the Czechs and Hungarians want Carpatho Ukraine." Coming back to our newspaper BUCHACHA UKRAINA which was submitted to him the day before by W, SEMENEC remarked that by reading this newspaper he got the impression we are inspired by a war-like spirit. Explaining that we are not going to defend everything that is going on in the West and especially some plans of a new partition of the Ukraine, I made a lengthy statement about the necessity on their part to defend the Ukraine.

F. Then the discussion turned once more to the Russification problem and SEMENEC boasted that for instance his newspaper permanently grows in circulation while the Russian edition of the newspaper has a very small circulation.

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Further arguments and facts which I submitted to him as proof of the Russification policy SEMENEC consented with a slogan, quoting the Russian poet Myakowsky, "If I had been a negro I would learn this language in order to properly understand Lenin and his works." He also tried to explain the absence of a separate Ukrainian delegation to the Vienna Festival by the explanation that the Austrians barred from visa 100 Ukrainian applicants. I and W laughed at this statement and nothing more was said about this topic.

G. In a further stage of the conversation SEMENEC stated that he got our point that we are thinking about the Russification of the Ukraine but for the time being, they are satisfied with the situation they have right now. He also mentioned the abolishment of the international trade barrier shortly after the death of Stalin. Beria tried to use the national cause of the Soviet republic as a trampoline to seize power in the Soviet Union, but this attempt was foiled and he himself was shot. I remarked that this attempt by Beria, who as a security chief should know where to look for support, proves only that the national question in the Soviet Union is very acute. This remark remained unanswered.

H. The entire discussion lasted for more than two hours and was mainly carried on between SEMENEC and me, with small interjections made by W and KUKK. KUKK, for instance, asked me what the Ukrainian emigres' situation would be in let us say 50 years. I answered that I am a politician and not a metaphysicist. Once during the discussion when SEMENEC praised the cultural development of the Ukraine and told that there is no force on the earth which could stop it, I interrupted him by saying that in our recent history, only so far back as the 1930's, we had such development, a tremendous Ukrainization stimulated and carried on by men like SEREPHYK, KNYLOVET, LUCHENKO and that he, SEMENEC, knows as well as I do what happened to these men, and that all this development was liquidated by Moscow practically over-night. At this moment W made a move with his hand, meaning that in your regime it goes up and down. It was at this moment that for just a second one could read fear in SEMENEC's eyes. But only for a moment. Then he got himself under control and said that such a thing is impossible today. Before departing SEMENEC asked W to give him the book, one of our editions which we showed him at the beginning of our meeting. Slightly we departed. SEMENEC several times expressed a desire to continue the discussion with me and asked me to come again on the following days. I didn't say either yes or no to this proposition.

11. Continuation of Contact by B.

A. On July 27 B received a letter mailed from Kiev by his acquaintance whom he met in Paris, Miss YAKINA, informing him that she received his letter containing his newspaper article. In this letter she informed him that she was sending him, via a man named LUCHENKO, a copy of the Ukrainian-language Journal Nystetstvo containing an article written by her and her autograph. (Attachment C is a photocopy of the letter. The original was shown to

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Barry and then left for copying with Steve in Munich.) About this letter I sent through Barry a message and received an answer. With the help of A, B was connected with DIBONENKO who gave him the above-mentioned journal. Before he handed over the journal, DIBONENKO made sure that B was the man for whom he was looking.

B. During previous contacts with A, DIBONENKO asked whether there were in Vienna some Ukrainian journalists from Germany, naming obviously B. B made an appointment with DIBONENKO but didn't appear at the place and time agreed because, in the meantime, he was accidentally met by SIBICHENKO who wanted to speak with him. At the time B met SIBICHENKO the last was in the company of SIBICHENKO, ZAHAROVY, and C.D.

C. The meeting of B with SIBICHENKO lasted for four hours. In his report B writes the following about SIBICHENKO and this meeting. "SIBICHENKO gives the impression of a cultured and tactful man with a great deal of prestige in the Soviet Government. He was really free to move about unescorted and he spoke with anybody he wanted.

D. "From the discussion I gained the impression that the Soviets now are very interested in the Ukrainian emigration and they are carefully studying all our activities. In my opinion that was the purpose of the presence of SIBICHENKO in Vienna. He discussed political problems, not during the discussion he remained tactful but never lost the official line. He said that we emigres are always thinking in categories which we applied in Stalin's era. In the meantime, everything has changed and the emigration lost the impression about the tense situation in the Ukraine. Of course, it was easy for me to find arguments against his statement but it wasn't possible to provide SIBICHENKO for more open talk.

E. "It was also my impression that they are studying our emigration in order to prepare a more elaborate attack against our activities. For instance, SIBICHENKO said earlier that there was the opinion in his circles that all Ukrainian emigres were 'Banderivets', that now they know the differences between 'Banderivets', and 'Melnykivets' and the 'Ukrainians'. 'He also knew what the URM is.' He also said that not all emigre groups are anti-Soviet. I answered him that he was in error because there isn't one group of Ukrainian emigres who isn't against the Soviet regime. For a moment my answer created amusement. He avoided my question as to where they got their information about the Ukrainian emigration. He only said, 'Now we have much more detailed information about the Ukrainian emigration. I could for instance tell about you in many details and you would wonder how I knew so much. For instance, we read your paper UKRAINSKA LITERATURNIYA MESIAZ. I know for instance that you are not a member of any party and that you are more interested in arts than you are in politics.' Here I explained to him that he was right, I am not interested so much directly in politics but nevertheless my newspaper is a political one because we are criticizing your socialistic realism which is

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suppressing Ukrainian culture. Then SHCHURCHENKO continued, 'I for instance know that last year you were in the United States. Also, I know that for some short period of time, in 1947, you were with the Babiranyi group. As a matter of fact, you don't have much sense.' Here I interrupted him by saying, 'So you expect to agitate me to return to the Ukraine?' He laughed and said, 'As a matter of fact, if you would return you wouldn't be bothered.' So not to leave any illusions I gave him the following explanation. 'My dear Valerina Pavlovich, I feel it necessary to make a full declaration in order to let you know who I am and where I stand. I do not intend to return and will never return, not because I am afraid of punishment but because I could not live for one day in that world of lies and of totalitarian political pressure and national discrimination. I am used to living in a free world, used to being open about my feelings, I am sincere and not hypocritical, which it is necessary to be in your regime. So as long as the USSR exists, there is no force in the world which could bring me back. I think now you have a clear picture of whom you have before you.' SHCHURCHENKO laughed at this statement and said, 'Of course it is clear to me. Do you think that I am such a naive person as to think that I can agitate you into returning back home. I studied rather carefully your newspaper and I came to the conclusion that it would be easier to convince a Banderivitch than you to return home.' He both laughed heartily. Later on we discussed many topics. He asked many questions about living conditions in the West and it was obvious that it was very interesting for him to hear about these conditions. Many times I tried to return to the political question but he answered only along official lines. The general impression which he made on me is that he is a very disciplined official who is very careful to secure his career. I would like to repeat once more my impression that the Soviets are very carefully studying the Ukrainian emigration and that maybe they are planning broad action against us."

12. Content of F and G (Continuation of Previous Contacts from Moscow.)

A. F and G met the writer PAVLYCHKO accidentally in the foyer of Staidhalie at the performance of the Soviet delegation the night of August 3. PAVLYCHKO made an appointment for the next day and said that he must come with a companion in order to have an alibi. When departing from this first meeting he said, "Anyway, I do not trust anybody." The next day at 10 A.M. we met at the entrance of Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. PAVLYCHKO and his two colleagues, MURSHENYK, staff member of the monthly DELTA, and REZUNYK from the PROCHORPACHKA PRAYDA (Stanislav), were already waiting. We took our places on a bank in the square and while G talked with PAVLYCHKO, F tried to have a conversation with MURSHENYK and REZUNYK to divert their attention.

B. The discussion lasted for two hours and during the conversation MURSHENYK and REZUNYK tried to overshadow on the conversation between G and PAVLYCHKO. G gave PAVLYCHKO some German books and literature which he asked for the previous day. PAVLYCHKO, MURSHENYK and REZUNYK looked at the books and literature. PAVLYCHKO presented G with a few cards from Kiev, MURSHENYK a small bottle of Moscow perfume, and REZUNYK a small edition of Ukrainian poetry.

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C. In our conversation we touched upon the following topics: The poor official representation of the Ukrainian SSR in the Soviet delegation at the Festival; the Russification of schools as a result of the new school law; the Russification of Lviv and compulsory transfer of Ukrainian youth to Siberia and so-called virgin lands. HELENIX and NIKOLAIENKO declared that they were not in a position to discuss and answer all the questions asked.

PAVLENKO, during the same moments when he was not being heard by HELENIX and NIKOLAIENKO, spoke freely. Among other things he said that the participation of the Ukrainian SSR in the Festival and in other Soviet artistic performances abroad is much greater than that of the other republics. Concerning the Russification of Ukrainian schools, PAVLENKO said that up to the present, only Ukrainian writers were fighting for the Ukrainian language and now it seems that the entire population will take part in this struggle. In PAVLENKO's opinion, this new school law may stimulate action of the entire Ukrainian nation. "Sometimes," he said, "our people need a stimulant before they will react." "Anyway," he continued, "we are too big and too numerous and they (Great Russians) can't devour us." In answer to the question as to what NIKOLAIENKO is doing in Moscow, PAVLENKO answered, "His being there doesn't help much. He thinks only about himself." Speaking about the low circulation of Ukrainian-language journals, NIKOLAIENKO stated that they are going to increase the circulation of the journal HEURE to 27,000. Recently some 4,000 Ukrainians in Kazakhstan subscribed to Ukrainian newspapers. NIKOLAIENKO insisted that Ukrainians in Kazakhstan have the right to have their own Ukrainian schools.

D. Regarding Russification of Lviv, PAVLENKO said the situation has improved very much in recent years, as in 1953 half of the population there was Russian. Today the situation has changed and there is a big stream of newcomers from surrounding Ukrainian villages.

E. Speaking about Dnubas and the danger of Russification of this industrial center, HELENIX admitted that, as a matter of fact, there are many Russians in Dnubas but nevertheless the Ukrainians are still in the majority.

F. NIKOLAIENKO added, "I would like to insure you that we in the Ukraine constantly are trying to stress that we are Ukrainians and not Russians; that we desire to preserve our own culture, and pursue our own historical and political development and I can say that we do have good results. Recently we heard that embassies of the Ukrainian SSR will be opened in certain countries abroad. For instance, I give you one example of what happened in Kiev. The Czech Consulate in Kiev displayed the Czech plaques in the Russian language. I myself intervened at the Consulate and the language on the plaques immediately was changed to Ukrainian." HELENIX said, "I know that in the past they are mixing up Ukrainians and Russians and they do not know enough about us, but that is harmful for them, not us." NIKOLAIENKO further described the situation in the Crimea stating that in recent years this object has been undergoing a radical process of Ukrainization and recently the writer HELENIX was sent from Kiev to Crimea to conduct a Ukrainian writer's association there.

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C. The following day PANICHKO met with F and G and said that his colleagues DESHCHYK and HURKACHYK were very satisfied with yesterday's talks. During this latter meeting, PANICHKO said that he was criticized recently by TYCHINA and BAZHAN for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism which was found in his poetry, The Call of Earth, circulation of 17,000, which was sold out in three weeks. PANICHKO's wife is a physician and her monthly salary is 600 rubles. He himself earns approximately 1,000 rubles. He is a member of the Town Council of Lviv. In the near future he plans to move to Kiev. G and F presented PANICHKO with 11 books on German literature. (List attached as Attachment D.)

13. Contact M.

A. M met SHENCHENKO who was accompanied by SEMENEC and ZABRODIY. They discussed primarily the national policy of the Soviet Union.

B. SHENCHENKO and his colleagues made all possible attempts to convince us that there is no Russification policy in the Ukrainian SSR and that the new school law of April 17 in no way endangers the Ukrainian school system. In order to show that there is no danger of Russification, ZABRODIY gave what he called a practical example from daily life in Kiev. "The children of Russian parents in Kiev play with Ukrainian children, and after the Russian children return home they talk to their mothers in the Ukrainian language." ZABRODIY said that in no way is there danger of Russification.

IV - DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE

1. Every team member was equipped with Western literature and was instructed to give it to his Soviet counterpart at the end of a discussion or at any time he considers appropriate. Experience showed that Soviet Ukrainians, in spite of being eager to get the literature, were careful not to take it in the presence of other countrymen. Only a comparatively small amount of literature was handed from hand to hand. (Not more than 30 pieces: i.e., Khrushchev's talks at the 20th Congress, Petrov's description of the liquidation of Ukrainian writers in the 1930's, Our Program, and MYTH AND REALITY.) In a few cases, like for instance in the case of a follow-up conversation which K had with SEMCHUK and others, he was in a position to discuss with them the topic of our pamphlets.

2. The second method of distribution was by leaving literature in places where Soviet Ukrainians were living. Approximately 500 pieces of literature and post cards and cartoons were left on the benches, in the yard and other places surrounding the Potalsindorf. It is highly probable that at least a part of this literature was taken by Soviet Ukrainians. This procedure was soon discovered by Soviet supervisors and it happened that on 28 August a show of "open destruction" of this material was staged by the supervisors. They

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Ukrainian language but they do not depict the truth about our country. They are all big lies." Then turning to S he continued, "You are misled by such old politicians as W and O. You have never seen the Ukraine, you are too young, you know nothing about our country. You are misled and misled by these nationalists. Take for instance O. I spoke with him a couple of days ago. He was only interested in high politics. He is preoccupied with the idea of an independent and united Ukraine but he wasn't interested in and he didn't ask me about his sister who is very sick."

C. KULIK gave the first name and exact address of my sister in the Ukraine. W interrupted the loud speech of KULIK by mentioning that he is in an Austrian bookstore and should behave himself properly and not compromise himself as a Ukrainian visitor. But KULIK continued his loud talk. He said, "When I was 13 years old I received my first pair of trousers, so poor was my family, but ha, O, studied in Vienna. How was it possible?--because his parents were bourgeois. Who paid for his trip from New York to Vienna? As KULIK continued his loud talk, Mr. Lechner, the owner of the bookstore, threatened that he was going to call the police. This quieted KULIK a little and after a while he and his group left the bookstore.

D. In this group there was a girl who several days ago met S and told her about hardships at home. She also mentioned to S that she believed in God. It was obvious that she was pressed by KULIK to come with him and to participate in this demonstration. She stood by white as a sheet, her eyes cast down, not saying a word.

E. There was another woman in the group who helped KULIK in his oration by shouting oral attacks on Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. The rest of the group remained silent.

F. As was already mentioned in the chapters on Contacts, SHENCHENKO and his colleagues visited the exhibition and made their appointment with us.

VI - GIFTS

Rapport between our team members and Soviet Ukrainians was strengthened through the presentation of small gifts to and entertainment of Soviet Ukrainians. For this purpose all team members were given a supply of small gifts (pens, lighters, necklaces, and other small items). These gifts could be presented in most cases only at the end of conversations. An attempt was made to arrange meetings with a bit of entertainment in order to create a pleasant atmosphere for conversations. This procedure was especially applied successfully by A. After getting acquainted with Soviet Ukrainians he would ask them to meet him the next time in one of the Austrian restaurants, he would treat them to some refreshments, tell jokes and, in between, touch on serious topics. Soon we found out that the food the Soviet Ukrainians were receiving in camp was not satisfactory and not having enough money to buy additional food, they were literally hungry. In one particular case A ordered three

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plates full of sandwiches, as the first and second servings of the sandwiches were eaten immediately by the Soviet Ukrainians. Beer and wine also helped to ease the atmosphere. In some cases, as for instance during the meetings arranged by SHEVCHENKO, the Soviet Ukrainians, especially members of the higher echelon, entertained their counterparts with vodka and canned fish food. Such entertainment by Soviet Ukrainians was repeated three times as far as I know.

VII - CONCLUSIONS

Before starting to sum up our activities at the Vienna Festival, I would like to mention some unforeseen difficulties which I noticed later in Vienna. These were the technical difficulties created either by Austrian Government employees or by the Soviets and their helpers, Austrian Communists, East Germans and Czechs.

1. The Austrian Government feared reprisals by the Soviets for our activities. They tried to hinder all open activities against the Festival, as for instance, the distribution of literature not censored by them. Thus it was necessary to apply a clandestine behavior in order to carry our activities such as transport and storage of literature, distribution of literature, meetings with team members, etc. It was especially difficult and time consuming to accomplish my daily meetings with our team members.

2. The presence of Communists in the Austrian police and especially at the foreign department of the police presidium (poliseipresidium) enabled the Soviets to control all foreigners who checked in at Vienna hotels. Therefore it was necessary to avoid living in hotels and to take private apartments. The Austrians asked a very high rent for their apartments and especially when they did not report one's presence to the police.

3. As all Vienna cafes and restaurants were over-crowded with every conceivable type of individual, it was necessary to arrange meetings with team members far from the center of town which caused a tremendous loss of time.

4. Use of the telephone was hindered by "telephone listeners." There was one known case where an emigre was thrown out from Austria on the grounds of monitored telephone conversations.

VIII - RESULTS

A. First I would like to state that there is practically no possibility at this time to measure the results of such political and propagandistic activity as we developed in Vienna during the Festival. For instance, the results of many contacts and conversations, exchange of gifts, entertainment, the book exhibition, the Ukrainian Catholic Mass in Stephansdom (which was partly supported by us) have a psychological and political influence over a long period of time and cannot be measured immediately.

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B. Speaking in terms of contacts and addresses received which can be considered as the first step to possible future correspondence, the results can be assessed as satisfactory. (See attached list of contacted persons, addresses and, in some cases, other personal data.)

C. We had planned to receive and to give information. We did gather extensive information, highlights of which I submitted in the chapter on Contacts. At least of the same importance is the information which was submitted to Soviet Ukrainians by our team members. The Soviet Ukrainians, including even the higher echelon, took back home with them new views, new facts, new ideas which will preoccupy them for a long time and can possibly open their eyes on the Soviet regime and especially regarding the role in the Ukraine. These Soviet Ukrainians who were contacted and subjected to our arguments could become more critical of what they hear and read in Soviet propaganda. How many of them completely accepted our views and how deeply their beliefs in the Soviet system were shaken remains an open question, but it can be said that they will give some thought to many of our arguments which they could answer only by remaining silent or by quoting the party line.

D. In the short story of contacts between Ukrainians from the West and the Soviet Ukrainians (I have here in mind the experiences from meeting Soviet Ukrainians in London, Paris and Brussels Fair) this was the first time that Soviet Ukrainians were seeking contacts with Ukrainians from the West. They took, so to say, the initiative in their own hands and like SHENKHEVO, came to the bookstore and asked for an appropriate individual from the emigration with whom they could discuss the political situation. This attempt should be considered as a new tactic used by the Soviets and aimed at:

1. Intensifying their study of the Ukrainian emigration by gathering, in addition to the information received through agents and from printed materials, first-hand impressions through personal face-to-face study.
2. Finding weak points in our political program in our relations with the West, and in the attitude of the West to the Ukrainian question, in order to use these weak points in a stepped-up campaign against the emigration.
3. Agitating of at least a small percentage of Ukrainian emigres about the prosperity of the Ukrainian nation, the tremendous progress made in recent years. In the opinion of our team members, especially those who met with members of the higher echelon and also in my own conviction, the Soviets are preparing a broad political attack on the Ukrainian emigration the activities of which creates a very unpleasant factor for them.

To counteract this attack requires a more positive attitude toward the Ukraine on the part of the West and especially on the part of the USA. This is especially important at the time when the Soviets enforce their new tactics. To back my statement I would like to present some experiences I gained in Vienna. During a discussion with a Soviet Ukrainian, let us say a young engineer, teacher or journalist, the argument of economic backwardness

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of the Soviet Union is no more a valid argument and does not convince the man that the Western system is better. This young member of the intelligentsia is a witness to the progress in the economic life as compared with the situation a few years ago. He sees some progress and improvement in the living standard. Therefore he believes, sometimes sincerely, that the Soviet regime is really interested in improving his living conditions and that in the near future the Soviet society will reach a high standard of living. Also freedom is for many others not quite the same phenomenon as we understand it. Of course, this argument is not quite a valid one. But it applies to the Soviet man only after he learns something about this freedom. We should not forget that the generation we met in Vienna is the second or even third Soviet generation, a typical product of the Soviet society, Soviet education and political system.

In spite of all the various methods of Russification put into practice, the Soviet regime did not kill the Ukrainian national feeling and we have today, as could be observed during the Vienna Festival, a young generation, men and women not older than 25, who are speaking the Ukrainian language and who declare themselves as Ukrainians and who are, to some degree, Ukrainian patriots. In most countries among these young people received a professional education and are today in an economic process of this country. They have comparatively a good economic situation. As an educated element they are eager for knowledge. Therefore they read books and journals and, what was proven by many contacts, they are eager to read Ukrainian publications, therefore, we have an increase in the circulation of the Ukrainian language journals.

Soviet propaganda tries to convince them that they have a Ukrainian Soviet state in a brotherly chain with the Russian. But at the same time many Soviet Ukrainians feel that as Ukrainians, they are not fully trusted by the Russians. (See my conversation with SEMENCO, especially his reaction full of fear as I reminded him that happened to the Ukrainian Communists in the 1930's). In addition, this young generation has received through contacts and other means some information about the political struggle of Ukrainians abroad. As a matter of fact, many hundreds of this generation recently have been in touch with Western Ukrainians at the Brussels Fair, the Vienna Festival and during other travels to the West. Of course, the information they gathered from Ukrainians living in the Western world was spread by them and we can say that at least a part of this youth is already affected by this information. All these factors stimulate young men and women to new thoughts and ideas. The only one idea which will appeal to a young Soviet Ukrainian editor, writer or engineer is not the idea of a better economic situation (in many cases they have acquired an easy life) but the idea of real equality as a Ukrainian, a human being and a nation. Right now even a person like SEMENCO, in spite of his high position, in spite of his absolutely clean background (victim of the second world war, many times wounded) is still afraid of being accused a Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist.

We give another example, PAVLYCHKO, a well known writer against Ukrainian nationalism, stated in a conversation to G and P that he doesn't trust anybody. He has already been attacked for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism

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and is afraid of persecution for being a Ukrainian patriot. The Soviet Government is of course very well aware of these facts and has been forced to make certain concessions because of the demands of the Ukrainian people. On the other hand, Russification continues and causes permanent fear even in prominent Ukrainian Communists.

Therefore I am coming to the conclusion that the only approach is the "national gate", through which we can approach men like ~~SEMMER~~ and others. Of course, this possibility is a very well known fact. The Soviets know for instance that Soviet Ukrainians are interested in the attitude of Western powers toward the Ukraine. For many years Soviet propaganda identified the West, especially the USA, with Hitler's Germany, implying in this way that the Ukrainian nation has nothing to gain from the USA. For the time being, this very simple identification (USA-Hitler) is not enough and does not apply to the Ukrainian masses, especially to the intelligentsia. Therefore they are using in their propaganda more elaborate arguments emphasizing the present attitude of the West toward the Ukraine. For instance, in my conversation with ~~SEMMER~~ he mentioned that the West is preparing a new partition of the Ukraine and is against a United Ukraine. There is no doubt that he didn't gain this knowledge by himself but was indoctrinated with this information. Soviet propaganda also tries to make ridiculous such manifestations as the proclamation of the Ukrainian beliefs in the USA, emphasizing that up to the present time the West has no positive policy toward the Ukrainian nation. And that is, in my opinion and on the basis of experiences in Vienna, the problem which must be faced and solved.

The results of our future contact operations which now will be initiated by Soviet Ukrainians, depend on the solution of these political problems.

As compared to Brussels, the Soviet Ukrainians who appeared in Vienna were much better prepared for contacts with Ukrainian emigres. Of course their preparedness still was lacking. They answered many of our arguments with silence or with Party slogans in which they themselves did not believe. But they will improve their tactics, and they will base their attacks on our weak points. In other words, we also must make preparations for future contacts. This does not mean technical preparation but above all, political. I am not going to elaborate here on a concrete proposition for how this positive attitude of the USA toward the Ukraine should be realized. I wanted only to emphasize that this is the most important problem facing us today, especially at this time of exchanges of high level visitors between the USA and the USSR.

Final Summary

Thanks to the activities developed in Vienna by all anti-Communist elements the Soviet propaganda crusade, camouflaged as the 7th World Youth Festival, did not pay off. We can even say they lost a propaganda battle. This is a good proof that such counter-action is necessary and also shows the opportunities for our success. But counter-action is not enough. We must initiate certain

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activities on our own which are more than mere counter-reactions to Soviet action. I should like to conclude by quoting a conversation one of our team members had in Vienna with an African student. "Are you a Communist, since you came to participate in the Vienna Festival?" asked our man. "Not at all," answered the African, "I would like very much to come to a non-Communist Youth Festival organized by some Western country but there is none. Tell me, why don't the Americans, British or Germans organize such a Festival? That is really a good idea, isn't it?"

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I - APPENDIX

- A. Key to Team Members' Identity
- B. Conversations and Contacts in Vienna, Seventh World Youth Festival (Report by V.P. SHAKIN)
- C. Conversation with E.M. DOBROV, First Secretary of Kiev Cons. (LANS)
- D. Characteristics of Individuals Contacted
- E. Names and Addresses of Individuals Contacted during 1977 Vienna Youth Festival.
- F. List of 11 German Language Books Given to ENGLISH by Team Member F.
- G. Photocopy of M. ZANKER's Letter to Team Member B.
- H. Photography of Book Display
- I. Samples of Leaflets and Postal Cards Distributed at Festival

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APPENDIX A

NAME OF TEAM MEMBER

1. Lubomir Ortynsky, New York
2. Volodymyr Stachiv, Munich, Germany
3. Eugene Stachiv, New York
4. Ivan Melnyenko, Munich, Germany
5. Ivan Koshchivets, Munich, Germany
6. Dennis Hunkel, Vienna (U.S. citizen, New York)
7. Ivan Cherniy, Munich, Germany
8. Oleg Horbach, Frankfurt/a, Germany
9. Semyon Kopylov, Paris
10. Robert Pyral, Heidelberg (U.S. citizen, New York)
11. Hala Horbach, Frankfurt/a, Germany
12. Steve Olynyk, Washington, D. C.
13. Konstantyn Valenko, London
14. Andrei J. Belovodsky, Reading, England
15. Tarcislaw Fedyk, Munich, Germany

KEY TO TEAM MEMBERS IDENTIFY

- A - Konstantyn ZELINSKO
B - Ivan KOSHELIVETS
P & O - Dr. and Mrs. Oleg HORBACH
K - Steve OLIVNIK
M - Ivan MELNYENKO
O - Lubomir ORTYNSKY
S - Dennis HUNKEL
W - Volodymyr STACHIV

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25 September 2007

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27 May 1992

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represented. STAKHIV told him the name of the newspaper and that he was the chief editor (but he did not give him his name). The conversation was along the following lines:

STAKHIV: Teverish Secretary of the Club, could you not tell me a little more about the future program of our compatriots at the Festival?

EROSHOV: Oh, and how do you know what my profession is?

STAKHIV: You shouldn't have your photographs published in the newspaper MOLOD'UKRAINE

EROSHOV: Soloists and dancers of a Ukrainian collective, will appear tomorrow at the Concert House during the program of the Soviet delegation. And what newspaper do you represent?

STAKHIV: Maybe you have already heard about the chief editor of Suchasna Ukraina

EROSHOV: No, I haven't heard. What's the name of your newspaper in German?

STAKHIV: (Patting him on the back) EROSHOV, I haven't yet asked you how MOLOD'UKRAINE is called in Russian, but if you want to know then I will tell you the name of our newspaper in French, in German and in English. (And I gave him the names.)

EROSHOV: And how do you know my name?

STAKHIV: I have already mentioned MOLOD'UKRAINE. But if you do not know about the newspaper, then ask Leonid NOVICHENKO in Kiev about it.

EROSHOV: Why? Are you acquainted with him?

STAKHIV: No, but NOVICHENKO engaged in polemics regarding our newspaper at the meeting of Ukrainian writers and stated that we have tasted revisionism.

EROSHOV: Is Suchasna Ukraina a revisionist newspaper?

STAKHIV: (Patting him on the back again) EROSHOV, again I must tell you no. Suchasna Ukraina is a newspaper of free Ukrainian thought.

EROSHOV: Then it seems like Suchasna Ukraina wants to liberate the Ukraine from the Ukrainian people.

STAKHIV: I did not come here to abuse you or to listen to your abuse. Let's not discuss political topics. It'll be better if we talk about cultural exchange between the Ukraine and the West. When will a Ukrainian artist ensemble with its own Ukrainian program come to Germany or the United States? Why is it that you only come with folk art and not with classical music and ballet? Could we not just end talk about such subjects, but let's not talk about politics at all times because in that case we will not find a common ground.

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BROZDOV: Our emeralds have already appeared in England, Belgium, France, Austria and we are also coming to Germany, Canada and the United States. I am not going to talk about our accomplishments in the countries of our democracy and in Finland. (Americans) do not permit us to come to the United States, and our government just recently signed an agreement for cultural exchange with East Germany.

STAKHIV: They (Americans) don't permit you? You mean Moscow doesn't permit you.

BROZDOV: Washington doesn't permit us. We were not able to get sufficient transportation for Austria. Why should I meet with you when we will not be able to agree. Why should we, a nation, carry on discussions with emigrants. We are a nation and what are you all?

STAKHIV: Don't put on airs about being a nation. Is the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol, Vasile Ivanovych BROZHENSKO, also here?

BROZDOV: He is here in the Hall. What need do you have to meet with him? You won't find any common ground for discussion with him either. We are a nation and you all, what?

STAKHIV: BROZDOV, I have already told you once, don't bring up the question of your being a nation. Let's be congenial and discuss cultural themes and leave politics alone.

BROZDOV: Come to our concert tomorrow. There you will see what achievements the Bandurists and the opera soloists and dancers have made. But there is no use for us to meet personally.

The conversation lasted about ten minutes. It was conducted in a polite-ironical tone. BROZDOV seemed disturbed that I patted him on his back in an intimate manner. He kept looking to both sides to see if anyone was watching. We were approached on a number of occasions by the girls from Sverdlovsk, the civilian with the American style haircut and various "Festival uniformed" delegates. There were only three of us "Ukrainians who live in the West", but there were eight of their people watching and eavesdropping on our conversation. On several occasions BROZDOV turned to the dancers as they passed by and asked them, "Where is Svylana?" Natalia BROZVA would answer for instance, "She is talking with one of our countrymen". When those who were watching insisted that Svylana return with them to the Hall, Natalia BROZVA answered, "She still doesn't want to go."

General Impression

Ukrainian artists were watched more closely than others (Russians or Georgians). Their conversations with us were always monitored, even STAKHIV's conversation with BROZDOV. The Georgians expressed their pleasure that the Ukrainian emigres came to talk to them and to greet them and one of them emphasized that Ukrainians and Georgians have always been and will be friends.

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Russians in general (with the exception of the eavesdroppers) very gladly entered into conversations and talked in a friendly manner and answered questions politely.

Ukrainians did not try to hide their pleasure that we came to them in order to greet them. They emphasized on several occasions that this made them very happy. Ludmyla talked the least, perhaps because her Ukrainian was not very good.

Several Explanations. (c/o comments: These notations were made for ABCASSOWARY 27 by STAKHIV in Vienna so they would have more bearing on identifiable info than they do now.)

Oles DORICHENKO, soloist wears blue trousers.

Petro and Oleksandr KOLOSKA, as mentioned before, are twins. They dance in red trousers.

Svitlana HORS'KA, blond, talked best freely and entered into conversations very easily.

Natalia BYKOVA freckled brunette. She holds back somewhat on conversations and appears a bit timid.

Ludmyla SHISHKINA, probably a Russian, seems to keep her guard up at all times.

H.M. DOMKOV, First Secretary of the Kiev Obkom. LKSMU. Ruddy complexion, about 30 years of age, short, looks a bit like the head of SUM, Inj.

M. SERDIUK. (The last fact is important for further conversations with him.)

28 July 1959, Tuesday

During the intermission of the music and dance festival of the Soviet delegation which took place at the Concert House, STAKHIV again went back stage with the pretense of collecting autographs. (DOMKOV corrected him and said autographs.) During the early part of the evening the following Ukrainians appeared in the concert. Alla OSYPENKO, soloist of the Leningrad Theatre of Opera and Ballet. Zoya KHRISTYCH, singer from the Kiev Opera. Mykola KONERATYUK, singer from the Kiev Opera. Vlodyslav ARBUZOV, a tenor from Lvov who appeared in a duet with KONERATYUK. A trio of Bandurists--Eliavir FLYPERKO, Valentina PARKHOMENKO, and Ludmyla IYBAKOV'SKA. The dancers were to appear in the second part of the program and therefore they were somewhat excited because as we later learned, they were competing for a gold medal. DORICHENKO and HORS'KA seemed very happy to see STAKHIV and they approached him first. The conversation went along general lines about autographs which DORICHENKO offered to collect. They explained that Z. KHRISTYCH, A. OSYPENKO, and KONERATYUK have separate dressing rooms on the second floor. DORICHENKO explained also that V. ARBUZOV is a Ukrainian from Lvov, that among Ukrainian artists in Vienna there is also Nadia KUDEEL'A and others, names which I do not remember. He also told me that he himself comes from Kiev and asked about the place of my birth. I replied that the city of my birth was "given away to the Poles by you." He then said, "Oh, then you are from Peremysl."

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We gave nothing to the Poles unless they just left this city to them." After receiving three autographs I also turned to BROZDOW for his autograph and the following conversation took place.

BROZDOW: Why do you want my signature? I am not a very interesting person to you unless you have need for my signature.

STAKHIV: Autographs are collected every place in the East and in the West. If you do not wish to give me yours, that is your concern. Is VI. BROZDOW here today and could you introduce me to him? I heard that he is here in the dressing rooms.

BROZDOW: I do not know the character of your newspaper. Therefore, I cannot give you my signature. BROZDOW is in the Hall and you can find him there. Tell me, what is the character of your newspaper?

STAKHIV: I am giving you a separate edition in which Hungarians have written about Hungary. In particular, they are Communists who took part in the revolution in 1956.

BROZDOW: That was not a revolution, but a fascist uprising which was instigated by the West.

STAKHIV: Read the article and then you will see that the authors are Communist just like you.

BROZDOW: (Having looked at the titles of the issue among which was "Workers-- Betrayed by Communism.") He said, see what kind of Communists! Why did you give me this? This is an insult to my feelings. Take back your fascist paper.

STAKHIV: Don't insult me now and don't call the newspaper fascist because I spent three years in a Hitler concentration camp. The authors, as I mentioned, are former Communists. I have given you this issue as a gift. Therefore, I cannot take it back. Take it with you and read it.

BROZDOW: I am not going to read fascist literature.

STAKHIV: BROZDOW don't get excited. Why do you insult me again? I spent three years in a Nazi prison camp when your country was having friendly relations with the Nazis.

BROZDOW tore up the Bucharest Uprising in a very dramatic fashion and threw the pieces away from him.

STAKHIV: BROZDOW, I've already seen something like this when Goebbels burned books in Berlin.

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By this time a large number of people gathered around us. Some of them looked very excited but they all kept quiet. I noticed unrest and sadness on a number of faces. In particular, the Ukrainian dancers stood there looking very embarrassed. BROZDOW looked very excited and wasn't able to control himself. The "Festival uniformed" guards appeared from the Soviet delegation.

BROZDOW: Why did you give us this propaganda? Why did you come here to make propaganda?

STAKHIV: I am not making propaganda and only in reply to your questions regarding the character of my newspaper did I give you this issue which you very dramatically destroyed. And if you want to know why I came here, I came to meet with my countrymen and to talk with them.

BROZDOW: You are not our countrymen.

STAKHIV: BROZDOW, it is not up to you to determine who is a compatriot and who isn't.

BROZDOW: And maybe you're going to determine this? Why don't you leave and don't trouble the artists which already are excited because of their (scheduled) appearance. Go away.

STAKHIV: BROZDOW, you are becoming excited again without reason. I did not come to make propaganda nor to insult you but you insult me. This is not very dignified.

In the meantime PAVLIUK, who also was in the dressing room and presented himself as an American of Ukrainian descent and who entered into many conversations suggesting that Ukrainian artistic ensembles visit the United States, entered "our conversation" and tried to settle the conflict. The uniformed delegates at this time surrounded me and squeezed me out the door. In the corridor they surrounded me and several voices stated, "You will not leave here until the concert is finished." I replied, "This is a democratic country and don't cause any scandal. If you want scandal, then I will create it for you. The Austrian and your representatives are in the Hall. Do you want the police to come?" One of the guards approached and I asked him to show me the exit because "These gentlemen don't want to let me leave." As I left the hall I told the small gathering in Ukrainian and in Russian "You are red fascists." Before the conversation with BROZDOW I talked with Eleanor FLYPNEKO on several subjects about their appearance at the Festival and so forth. I asked them about the BAIDU sisters from Lvov, why they don't take a trip out to the West and so forth. Eleanor introduced me to V. FAKHOMENKO and L. LYSLAKOVSKA. She introduced me as "our editor countryman in the West." My disagreement with BROZDOW lasted about ten minutes. I must again express the confusion on the faces of the Ukrainian artists and also the surprise and contempt of the Party "boss." Regarding H.M. DORNOV, which in this part of my report is referred to by the name BROZDOW, there are additional details in a separate report which I ask you to treat confidentially. I did not inform him about this particular meeting with him in order

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not to spread unnecessary panic because there already did exist in Vienna frequent unnecessary panic situations.* KRYZHEV and CHORNIY know about this meeting. CHORNIY does not have the details of the conversation. (as involved that later conversations took place as a result of this particular meeting.

/s/ V.P.B.

Munich 11.8.59

*This is not true. KRYZHEV gave me a detailed oral account of this altercation the day after it happened.

/s/ H.P. WOODBURY

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ATTACHMENT C

17 September 1959

Translation

Separate Report No. 2
A Separate Conversation with H.M. DOBROV

Under date of 27 and 28 July in a report on contacts and conversations in Vienna there is reference to a conversation with a "DROZDOV".

This concerns H.M. DOBROV, First Secretary of the Kiev Obkom. Komsomol (LKSMU). In the dressing room in the Concert Hall I met ORT and SLAVKO and gave them the details about this discussion. Our conversation lasted until after midnight.

As I started back to my pension (on foot) I met, not far from my pension, an Austrian taxi cab on Theobald Gasse and Mariahilfstrasse from which DOBROV and an unknown female (approximately 30 years of age) appeared. DOBROV greeted me and introduced me to his companion, whom he called Rita. (When I later asked her, she told me her name was Margarita. I did not ask for her surname.) In our conversation I continued to address DOBROV as DROZDOV and he did not correct me. It was only after that I learned his correct name. DOBROV suggested that we go for "some wine" to a nearby coffee house which was situated two parallel streets away from Theobald Gasse. I agreed to go there by taxi with them. In the beginning DOBROV (DROZDOV) told me that after our conflict earlier in the day he had to meet with me to clarify certain matters and he asked me not to question him how he knew of my Vienna address. He also said that not everyone whose name ends in "ov" or "ev" necessarily has to be a Russian, and not everyone whose name ends in "enko" is a Ukrainian. He reminded me of such Ukrainians in the emigration as DONTSOV, VETUKHOV, and SHEVEL'OV.

He asked me not to consider his attack on me as provocation but said he did this merely for the benefit of the others present. He said that during the existing period Ukrainian tourists, delegates and artists at the Festival gladly will meet with Ukrainian emigres and converse with them on all topics, and political topics, that he is not only a member of the Party and leader of the Komsomol, but a convinced Communist. Because I had suggested to him a special meeting, he agreed to come, although the conditions of this meeting were for me "not clearly understood and suspect." Regarding political problems, he suggested that it was better not to touch upon them because we would find no common ground here on which to talk. He said it was better to discuss cultural matters.

I told to him that I was surprised by this unexpected meeting and openly admitted to him that I entered the taxi with misgivings. I asked him to stop into our bookstore near St. Stephan's Dome and acquaint himself with the Ukrainian books. He replied, "Our people know about the bookstore and are very surprised that there is so much propaganda literature and less educational material of works of art."

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He knew that Prolog from New York was behind this display. He criticized the UKRAINSKA LITERATURNHA HAZETA and SUCHASHA UKRAINA which seek only the dim side of life in the Soviet Ukraine. Although such situations in life do exist it is necessary also to acknowledge the positive achievements of the Ukrainian people.

It was interesting for me to note that when it was his turn to pay for the wine, he would not pay for it at the table but would walk over to the cashier. I paid at the table.

I gave him E. HALAYCHUK's NATSIYA PONEVOLENA, ALE DERZHAVA (A Nationality Enslaved, but a Nation) and V. HOLUB's "The Ukraine in the United Nations." He did not previously know about these two books. Having leafed through the books he began to talk about HOLUB, saying, "We have made achievements in the U.N. about which you, too, must know", and so forth.

The conversation following took on a dialectical and propagandastic character, so far as he was concerned. Therefore, after an hour's time, I terminated the conversation. He did not want to take copies of PIKOP's book nor the brochures on Petrov, Khrushchev's secret speech, or Myth and Reality stating that he had already seen them here in Vienna.

/s/V.P.S.

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ATTACHMENT D

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS CONSIDERED

1. SHVACHENKO, Valeriy Pavlovich. ca. 40 years of age. Wore ordinary civilian clothes but usually with an embroidered shirt. Constantly unbuttoned, buttoned and had a sense of humor. Introduced himself as an employee in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an attaché in the protocol-consul division, chief of which is NIKOL. He said he came to Vietnam on a diplomatic passport and that he is living in the Soviet Embassy. He spoke a clear, literary Russian. Following his talks with STRECHET, (when others were present) he mentioned that STRECHET tried to engage in interrogations among the Vietnamese delegation, asked too many questions, and even provocative questions. This information was conveyed by Ivan GRENCHET, Ivan V. MAISTRENKO and A. KONDARENKO all of whom had talked with him.

2. SHVACHENKO, Ivan Pavlovich. 25 years of age. Wore the same suit on the occasion of my two meetings with him. He mentioned no of "GRENCHET". He is very intelligent and quiet mannered. He introduced himself as the chief editor of the main organ of the Komsomol in the Ukraine, NIKOL'S UCHENIK. This is a true fact. He also is a member of the "Bureau of the CC LEAD" which is made up of about 15 individuals. He also is a member of the CC LEAD.

3. SHVACHENKO, Volodymyr Pavlovich. 29 years of age. He wore a different suit each time I saw him. Always very elegant, dark brown, dark eyes, forceful and a propagandist. He said he was a teacher of geography and principal of the 9th grade in a secondary school in Lvov. Born in Poles. During German occupation attended a gymnasium in Poles where he completed the 9th grade. He did not mention that he was a member of the CC LEAD and First Secretary of the Lvov Otdel. of the Komsomol.

4. SHVACHENKO, Dmitriy Yury'sovich. 30 years of age. Comes from Dnepropetrovsk. His brother was shot by the Germans. He is of medium height, a dark blond, wore very ordinary civilian dress and an embroidered shirt. He belongs to the younger generation writers, writes mostly poetry. He engaged in some polemics with B. Khrushchev. His poems appear in the Soviet Ukrainian journals, VOYENNA and SHVACHENKO. He did not mention that he is a candidate for the CC LEAD.

5. SHVACHENKO, Valentin Leonidovich. ca. 35-36. Was dressed very poorly. He is very quiet, about medium height, sunkened face. He said he was an employee of the journal, PRIZHIVANNA I SHVACHENKO. He also mentioned that he had been in exile and returned just two years ago. He had met with the brother of Oleg PUSHKIN who has also returned from 10 years' exile.

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6. MEKHILY. A small, likeable young man. He did not want to give his first name nor his patronymic, stating "it is not proper for an older person to address him in that manner". (c/o comment: the writer probably meant "to address me in that manner".) He comes from Boltova but now works in Stanislaw, in the editorial offices of the oblast newspaper, PRILABINSKA PRAVDA. He revealed an interest in all topics but he did not show up for another meeting.

/s/ V. P. Stakhiv

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Names and Addresses of Individuals Contacted During 1959 Vienna Youth Festival

1. ZUBKOV, Borys - Miner, Stalino, Donbas
Shachta No. 5/6 im. Kalinina
2. BOYAROV, Viktor - Kiev, Tel.: 3-37-74. Completed law course at Kiev Univ.
ca. 35 years of age.
3. DUBKOVA, I. O. - Engineer, Kharkiv (X.3) KHARKIV
Kharkivskiy Traktorniy Zavod
ca. 32 years of age
4. STEZIUK (STETSUK) Mykola - Kiev, ca. 24 years of age STEZUK
Photo attached
Member of CP, convinced Communist
Lecturer on Russian literature in Kiev
5. ^{CH} DORILENKO, Oles - member of dance group/ ca. 25 years of age
with Verioyka ensemble in Vienna
Kiev, Chervonohorodska 170, K. 12
6. BORYSIUK, Hnat - (photo attached) ca. 28 years old
Luck, Rolna 6 (vul. Rol'na 6)
No party membership. Employed in bookstore in Luck
7. BESHAMILKOV, Vladimir - Kiev, Kirova 16
8. KOLOSOK, Petre - No information
9. POPOV, Viktor - ca. 27. Rostov-Don, Frunzenskaya 195/ kv.48
10. ^{L)} KOTENKO, Volodymyr Michailovych - alias DUBOVENKO
Hermatna 9, Kv. 4
11. BEZDIYKO, Maria - ca. 25. Chervonohorodska 29, ¹¹ Hlyaniysky, Kharkiv Oblast
12. ANDRUSHEKO, Andriy - Ushored. Zakarpatska Oblast. No father info.
13. MUSHKETNIK - ca. 35. Editor of DNIPRO - Kiev. Born Hlyshyn, East Ukraine
Has his own villa and auto in Kiev.

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14. BEZUHLYI - Editor, PIDKARPATSKA PRAVDA - Stanislav. ca. 35-40.
15. SHEVCHENKO, Valeriy Pavlovych - claimed to be employee of Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Visa and Protocol Section, Chief, ZYBA
16. SEMEK, Ivan Danilovych - ca. 40. Strong build. Chief editor of VOLOD UKRAINI - Kiev
17. KULYK, Volodymyr Vasylivych - Teacher in Lviv. ca. 30.
18. ZABODIY, Valentyn Leonidovych
19. STECIUK, Nela * Just finished Kiev Univ. (Philosophy) Kiev
20. SHEVCHUK, Natalya - ca. 38. Employee of Policlinic in Luck - Receptionist
21. Leonid (L'onia, Levko) - Miner from Lugansk (Donbas) - ca. 24-26, strong build.
22. Volodia - ca. 21. Drohobych.

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ATTACHMENT D 7

LIST OF BOOKS GIVEN TO PAVLICHKO BY KONNACH

1. Religiöse Lyrik des Abendlandes
2. Die Schönste Liebesgedichte der Weltliteratur
3. Auswahl deutscher Prosa u. Lyrik vom 12 Jh. bis zur
4. Deutsches literarisches Lexikon
5. Herder's Philosophisches Lexikon
6. Brecht: Auswahl aus seinen Dramen und Lyrik
7. Giraudoux: Dramen
8. Sartre: Dramen
9. Hefensthal: Jedermann
10. Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General
11. Wilder: Unsere Kleine Stadt

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